

Mental Deixis in Taba

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This paper provides a description of the demonstrative system of Taba, a South Halmahera language spoken in North Maluku province, Indonesia. The paper describes a core system of demonstratives that make a two way distinction between proximate and distal demonstratives. The members of this paradigm encode attributive and pronominal forms as well as adverbs of place and adverbs of manner. These behave similarly to other such forms in other languages. The paper argues that another ‘recognitional’ demonstrative that is only used adnominally should also be recognised. This demonstrative is used to refer to entities that the speaker believes the hearer knows about. While the core demonstratives mark physical deixis, textual deixis and so on, the recognitional marks what might be called mental deixis. Mental deixis is a deictic category that deserves wider recognition.

1. Introduction¹

The basic purpose of this paper is to describe the demonstrative system in Taba. To describe Taba demonstratives, however, means we first need to answer what looks on the surface like a very simple question, namely ‘what are the demonstratives?’ For many languages the answer to this question would probably be self-evident, but this is not the case in Taba. As we shall see, the morphological paradigm of Taba demonstratives is in a sense defective and thus partially obscures one of the demonstratives from view.

Demonstratives as a word class are exemplars par excellence of deixis in language. Lyons (1977: 637) notes that the terms ‘ostensive’, ‘deictic’ and ‘demonstrative’ are all based upon the idea of identification, or drawing attention to, by pointing. He further notes that ‘by deixis is meant ‘the location and identification of persons, objects, events, processes and activities being talked about, or referred to, in relations to the spatio-temporal context created and sustained by the act of utterance and the participants in it, typically of a single speaker and at least one addressee’. A variety of types of deixis have been identified in the literature. Traditional deictic categories to have been recognised are ‘person deixis’, ‘place deixis’, and ‘time deixis’. More recently other categories such as ‘discourse deixis’ and ‘social deixis’ have been added to this list (see for instance Levinson’s 1983 discussion of deixis). The Taba data to be addressed below (along with data from other languages) suggests that a further type of deixis might profitably be added to this list: that which we might call ‘mental deixis’.

¹ My work on the Taba language could not have been undertaken without the help of all the Taba speakers I came in contact with, especially those in Waikyon village who I had the pleasure of living with. Research on Taba has been undertaken as a student at the University of Melbourne, as a post-doctoral fellow at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics at Nijmegen, and as a research fellow at the Australian National University. This particular paper has benefited from discussions with audiences at talks given at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, and at the Australian National University. Special thanks are due to David Wilkins, Harold Koch and Eva Lindström who gave detailed comments. Thanks are due also to two anonymous reviewers. The remaining shortcomings of the paper are, of course, the author’s responsibility.

Some general background on the Taba language and the people who speak it is given in section 2. In section 3 we review a proposal by Himmelmann (1996) for defining demonstratives cross-linguistically. Section 4 provides a description of what might be called the ‘core’ Taba demonstrative roots and other forms which are morphologically derived from them. In section 5 we examine parts of the wider deictic system of Taba, focussing on the deictic particle *ya*. Although *ya* does not participate in the morphological paradigm of ‘core demonstratives’ discussed in §4, it does appear in other respects to behave like a demonstrative. It is identified as a ‘recognitional’ demonstrative, roughly translatable into English as ‘you know the one’. The deictic particle *ya* also appears to be related to the directional root *ya* ‘up’. An overview of the directionals, and a discussion of the relationship between the deictic particle *ya* and its directional counterpart are given in section 5.2. Section 6 provides an overview of the use of all the deictic particles in discourse. In the conclusion it is first argued that the particle *ya* really is a demonstrative and some explanations are offered for the fact that it does not enter into the same morphological paradigm as the ‘core’ demonstrative roots. The paper ends with a brief treatment of similarities between Taba *ya* and demonstratives found in other languages that have functions which are neither clearly concerned with spatial deixis nor textual deixis. It is argued that ‘mental deixis’ is a hitherto neglected category that should be added to the list of deixis types so far identified in the literature.

2. The language and its speakers

Taba is a South Halmaheran Austronesian language spoken in North Maluku province in Indonesia, chiefly on Makian and Kayoa islands, but also in Malifut and adjacent parts of Halmahera as well as in Ternate, the major regional town. According to Blust (1978) the South Halmahera – West New Guinea language group, of which the South Halmahera languages constitute a first level group, is a sister language group to the Oceanic languages within the Eastern Malayo-Polynesian group of Austronesian. The major places where the language is spoken are shown in figure 1.

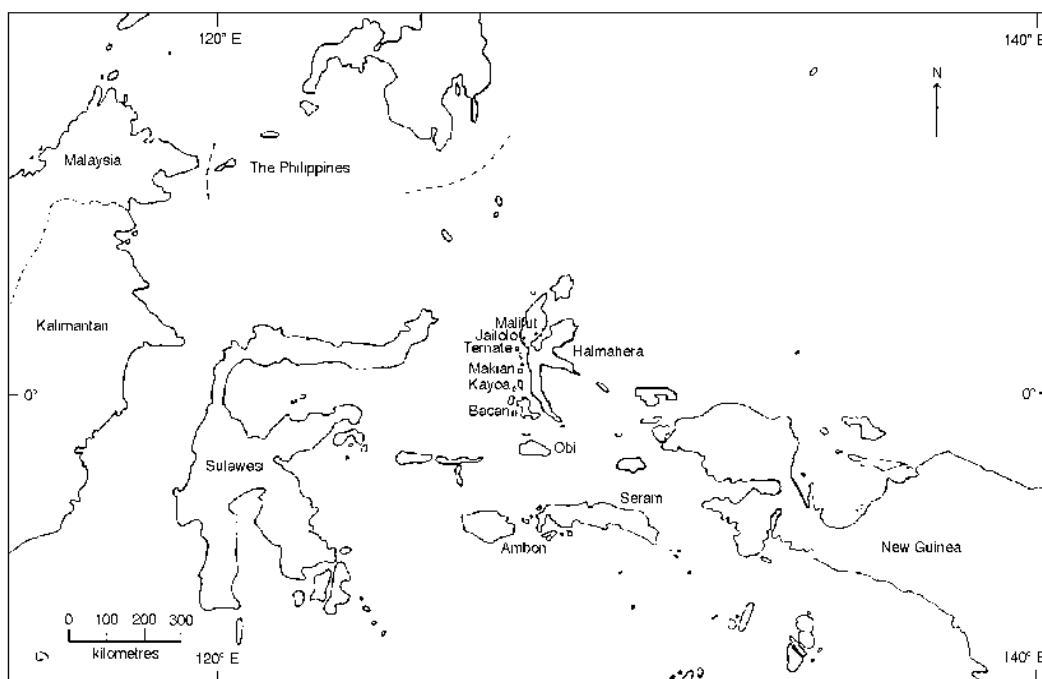


Figure 1 North-eastern Indonesia with Taba speaking areas

Taba is predominantly a head-marking language with basic AVO word order, and it has both postpositions and a preposition. Most modifiers follow their heads, but the genitive precedes its head. Taba has some typologically unusual word-order correlations which are explained as a result of contact between Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages in the North Maluku language area.

At the present point in time, virtually all Taba speakers are also speakers of Indonesian or North Maluku Malay. This is leading to a situation where the future existence of Taba is threatened, Malay or Indonesian beginning to take over many of the functions that Taba once had for itself. Although Taba usage is still fairly vigorous amongst its speakers, quite a large part of the grammar of the language has become simplified, particularly amongst younger speakers, and a variety of aspects of Malay grammar are steadily being incorporated into Taba. The major source to appear on the Taba language so far is Bowden (2001).

3. Defining demonstratives

A variety of writers have attempted to characterise what demonstratives are but very few that I am aware of have actually tried to set up explicit definitions of demonstratives which can be applied cross-linguistically. One writer who has given such explicit criteria is Himmelmann (1996) who says that:

The following ... characteristics seem to allow for a cross-linguistically valid and applicable identification of 'true' demonstratives:

- a. the element must be in a paradigmatic relation to elements which — when used exophorically — locate the entity referred to on a distance scale: as proximal, distal, etc.
- b. The element should not be amenable to the following two uses which are characteristic for definite articles:
 - larger situation use: demonstratives are generally not usable for first mention of entities that are considered to be unique in a given speech community (*Yesterday, this / that queen announced ..., *This / that sun was about to reach its zenith).
 - associative-anaphoric use as exemplified by the following example from the Pear Stories where replacing the definite article in 'the branch' by a demonstrative would sound fairly odd:²

XIII.11. on a ladder, . . . picking pears, {.15}

XIII.12. from a trees, and putting it in his . . . apron, {.25}

...

XIII.20. it's like they have a microphone right {laugh begins} next to the branch so you could hear him picking off thee {.35}

(Himmelmann, 1996: 210)

² Associative-anaphoric use as discussed by Himmelmann refers to situations like that in the example above where reference to 'a tree' in (12) activates the idea of branches in the addressee's mind (since all trees generally have branches). Having been activated in an associational-anaphoric way, 'branch' then occurs with the definite article in (20).

It is well known that definite articles often have their historical sources in demonstratives (see, e.g. Epstein 1994 on the sources of the French definite article). It should come as no surprise then, that the linguistic forms found in some languages may have characteristics of demonstratives in some uses but of articles in others, as is suggested by the second part of Himmelmann's definition. One of the Taba demonstratives is in fact developing some of the characteristics of an article.

Implicit in Himmelmann's definition is the idea that some of the demonstratives in any language will be used to demonstrate the physical location of some referent "on a distance scale: as proximal, distal, etc." Of course, it is also well known that demonstratives can index referents in other ways as well, perhaps most commonly as having already been referred to in a text; in other words they can be used as anaphoric devices. Demonstratives may also encode other sorts of information, such as that encoded by the 'recognitionals' discussed by Himmelmann (1996: 230) in which "the intended referent is to be identified via specific, shared knowledge rather than through situational clues or reference to preceding segments of the ongoing discourse", and potentially other kinds of forms which point to intended referents in other ways as well.

In order to identify the demonstratives in Taba, though, we first need to address some issues posed by the first part of Himmelmann's definition and ask 'what kinds of paradigmatic relations count for showing that a linguistic element is a demonstrative?'. In the next section we examine some forms found in a morphological paradigm based on what we call the core demonstrative roots and in the following section we examine a syntactic paradigm which the same roots enter into.

4. 'Core demonstratives' in Taba: a morphological paradigm

The most obvious place to look for a paradigmatic relation between linguistic elements is, of course, within the morphology of a language, and Taba does indeed have a morphological paradigm which fits Himmelmann's definition. A listing of what might be called the 'core demonstratives' of Taba, and of all the forms which are derived from them is given in figure 2.

		<i>ne</i> (≈ 'this')	<i>da / dia</i> (≈ 'that')
		Proximal	Distal
root forms (adnominal use)		<i>Ne</i>	<i>da / dia</i>
demonstrative pronouns	sg.	<i>ine</i>	<i>idia</i>
	pl.	<i>sine</i>	<i>sidia</i>
locative nouns (‘here’ and ‘there’)		<i>ane</i>	<i>adia</i>
manner adverbs (distinguished according to speech level)	<i>biasa</i> ‘normal’	<i>tane</i>	<i>tadia</i>
	<i>alus</i> ‘refined’	<i>tadine</i>	<i>taddia</i>
		<i>hatadine</i>	<i>hatadia</i>
	<i>kasar</i> ‘coarse’	<i>dodine</i>	<i>dodia</i>

Figure 2. Taba 'core demonstrative' paradigm

We address each of the sets of forms labelled in the left column in turn.

4.1. Demonstrative roots

In the ‘core demonstrative’ system, there is a relatively simple bipartite split between *ne* ‘this’ and *dia* / *da* ‘that’. When used for spatial demonstration *ne* signals proximity to the speaker and *dia* / *da* signal distance. *Dia* and *da* are variant forms of the same demonstrative, *da* being simply a shortened form of *dia* which is used in most non-emphatic contexts. In some instances of its use, *da* seems to be developing features consistent with an article which will be discussed later. The root forms are labelled as ‘attributive demonstratives’ rather than ‘demonstrative adjectives’ since Taba has no class of adjectives.

When used for spatial reference, the Taba demonstratives are almost invariably accompanied by a pointing gesture of some kind. Example (1) illustrates the use of *ne* (≈ ‘this’, proximal, glossed ‘PROX’) to indicate physical proximity. In this instance, the speaker was actually sitting on one of the chairs he was referring to.

- (1) *Kurusi ne kyat Keten nak.*
 kurusi ne k=yat Keten nak
 chair PROX 1sg=take Moti also
 ‘I also took these chairs to Moti’.

The non-emphatic form of the distal demonstrative *da* is illustrated in (2). When this was spoken, the speaker was sitting on the porch at the front of his house and the goat referred to was walking, on its own, along the path at the front of the house.

- (2) *Kabin da, yak kanik*
 kabin da yak k=hanik
 goat DIST 1sg 1sg=own
 ‘That goat, I own it.’

Example (3) illustrates the use of the full distal form *dia*. When this was uttered, the ‘stuff’ referred to (contained in a pile of cardboard boxes) was located at the opposite end of the room from the speaker. It appears that the emphatic form was used here in order to contrast the particular ‘stuff’ at the far end of the room from other ‘stuff’ in boxes which was also in the room at the same time and which belonged to someone else.

- (3) *Nik rencana kyat sagala dia*
 nik rencana k=yat sagala dia
 1sg.POSS plan 1sg=carry stuff DIST
 ‘I’m planning to carry that stuff.’

The attributive forms of the core Taba demonstratives may be used in a number of syntactic contexts in which the attributive forms in a language like English may not. For example, the Taba core demonstratives can be used to qualify place names.

- (4) *Polo Taba ne mdudi, cilaka.*
 polo Taba ne mdudi cilaka
 if Makian PROX be.sunk disaster
 ‘If Makian (here) had sunk it would have been a disaster.’

The attributive forms may also co-occur with free pronouns (5) and personal names (6).

- (5) *Yak ne kahan.*
 yak ne k=hahan
 1sg PROX 1sg=be.able
 'I can do it.' [literally: 'This I can do it.']
- (6) *Ni lol do John ne.*
 ni lol do John ne
 3sg.POSS big like John PROX
 'It's size was like John here.'

Taba demonstratives can also be used with possessive noun phrases.

- (7) *Do John nim mlongan ne.*
 do John nim mlongan ne
 like John 2sg.POSS length PROX
 'Like John's height here / like this length of John's.'

Example (7) also illustrates that 'proximity to speaker' does not entail 'distance from addressee'. The basic spatial meanings of the Taba demonstratives are completely speaker-oriented: something that qualifies as 'proximal to speaker' in this system may actually be more closely related to an addressee, as in (7) which was addressed to the author by someone else. As I go through Taba texts, I get the impression that referents more closely related to addressees than to speakers are almost invariably marked by the proximate demonstratives unless there is a competing potential referent more closely situated to the speaker. No doubt this is at least partly a reflection of politeness principles in operation.

All of these demonstrative roots may be used with meanings other than strictly spatial ones. Most prominent of these is the frequent use of the distal demonstrative as a means of pointing to some referent that has been mentioned earlier in a text. In (8) *da* demonstrates the three days of the week just referred to, i.e. *Jumat* 'Friday', *Sabtu* 'Saturday' and *Minggu* 'Sunday'.

- (8) *Hari pertama Jumat... tutike Sabtu... Hari.Minggu. Ngan*
 hari pertama jumat tutike sabtu hari.minggu ngan
 day first Friday... until Saturday Sunday day
- cihol da, yang ltolang tuo duga hanya Om Noh.*
 sis-tol da yang l=tolang tuo duga hanya Om Noh
 CLASS-three DIST REL 3pl=stay true only only Uncle Noh
- Sebenarnya matlu ada yak.*
 sebenarnya mat-lu ada yak
 in fact CLASS-two with 1sg
 'The first day was Friday.. until Saturday... Sunday. For those three days, the only person who really stayed was Om Noh. In fact, two people including me.'

The proximate demonstrative can also be used to point to an earlier mentioned referent, but its anaphoric use is much more restricted and far less frequent than that of the distal forms. In all of the texts I have examined it is only ever used on the odd occasion to index a referent mentioned in the immediately preceding intonation unit.

- (9) *Malai kutin manusia ni sagala... Sagala ne um li...*
 Malai k=utin manusia ni sagala sagala ne um li
 then 1sg=gather people POSS stuff stuff PROX house LOC
 'Then I gathered up people's stuff. This stuff was in (their) houses.'

Reference to things mentioned more than one intonation unit earlier is always achieved through the use of one of the distal forms (generally *da*), and indeed demonstration of entities referred to in the preceding intonation unit is most often marked by *da* as well, as was illustrated in (8) above.

Sometimes it may appear difficult to tease apart which particular meaning of a form (spatial or anaphoric) is intended on any particular occasion of use. In example (10), *dia* can be interpreted either anaphorically as referring back to *Dalam*, the place just mentioned two clauses earlier, or it could be interpreted spatially as referring to *Dalam*, the village located a couple of kilometres away from the place of utterance. Although it might appear difficult at first to establish whether or not a particular use of a form is anaphoric or spatial, in closely observed face to face interactions, it is not so hard, in fact, to distinguish between the two types of usage. As we have already noted, spatial use of demonstratives is almost invariably accompanied by a gesture while anaphoric use is not.

- (10) *Am Payahe lama awom... Asung Dalam tarus*
Am Payahe la-ma a=wom a=sung Dalam tarus
1pl.excl Payahe sea-from 1pl.excl=come 1pl.excl=enter Dalam then
taplod. Atobik Om Nur pope Dalam dia.
ta-plod a-tobi-Vk Om Nur po-pe Dalam dia
PASS-erupt 1pl.excl-land-APPL Uncle Nur down-ESS Dalam DIST
 ‘We came from seawards in Payahe, we entered Dalam and then it erupted. We dropped off Uncle Nur down there in Dalam.’

In some cases though, one cannot be certain whether or not a form is actually a demonstrative at all. Contemporary Taba is being increasingly affected by the dominant lingua franca of North Moluccan Malay, as can be clearly seen in examples like (8) above, where all of the elements in bold type except the demonstrative *da* are Malay rather than indigenous Taba. It is possible that in (10) above, the final *dia* is intended as a resumptive 3sg. pronoun referring to Om Nur, the pronoun *dia* borrowed from North Moluccan Malay.

While that particular issue is not a major impediment to sorting out whether particular uses of *dia* are as a demonstrative, the fact that the shortened form of the distal root is developing some characteristics more like those expected of an article is more problematic. Himmelmann’s quote given at the beginning of this paper provides criteria for deciding whether or not a form is being used as an article suggesting that associative-anaphoric use excludes a form as a demonstrative. In (11) below, *da* is used as an associative-anaphoric device. Here, *da* indexes *masola* ‘praying places’ or ‘mosques’ which had not been mentioned up to that point in the text from which the example is extracted. However, two villages which had not been damaged extensively in the eruption which the text relates the story of had been mentioned. The mosques had been activated as referents because all the villages on Makian island can be presumed to have mosques.

- (11) *Wah Taba ne lekat hasole. Duga kampung Kota ada Mailoa*
wah Taba ne lekat hasole duga kampung Kota ada Mailoa
island Makian PROX be.broken all only village Kota and Mailoa
malai lekat te. Kampung plu le lekat te.
malai lekat te kampung p-lu le lekat te
well be.broken NEG village CLASS-two only be.broken NEG

Odo masola hasole da ada lekat.
odo masola hasole **da** ada lekat
on.the.other.hand mosque all **ART?** exist broken
‘Makian island here was completely destroyed. Only Kota and Mailoa villages, well, they weren’t ruined. Only two villages not destroyed. On the other hand all of the mosques suffered damage.’

There are also other uses of *da* which suggest that it is losing some of its distal demonstrative functions. One of these departures can be illustrated by examining what happens when Taba speakers wish to make contrasts between two entities which are located close to a speaker. In English, it is possible to use the distal demonstrative ‘that’ to refer to things closely associated with a speaker (such as his / her own body parts) as long as ‘that’ is used contrastively with proximal ‘this’, as illustrated in (12).

(12) ‘On **this** hand I’m wearing a ring but on **that** hand I’m not.’

In Taba, it is not possible to use *dia* or *da* in the same way as English ‘that’ is used in (12). Body parts must always be referred to with *ne* ‘PROX’ in Taba. However, if Taba speakers wish to make such a contrast they can use the *da* distal form in addition to the proximal *ne* form as illustrated in (13).

(13) *Nik komo ne ada nik komo ne da.*
1sg.POSS hand PROX and 1sg.POSS hand PROX DIST
‘(My) this hand and (my) that hand.’

4.2. Demonstrative pronouns

The Taba demonstrative pronouns are formed by adding prefixes of the same form as the third person pronouns to the demonstrative roots.

- (14) (a) *ine* (b) *sine*
i-ne si-ne
sg-PROX pl-PROX
‘this (near speaker)’ ‘these (near speaker)’
(c) *ida / idia* (d) *sida / sidia*
i-da / i-dia si-da / si-dia
sg-DIST / sg-DIST pl-DIST / pl-DIST
‘that (away from speaker)’ ‘those (away from speaker)’

For comparison, the Taba independent pronouns are listed in figure 3.

		1pl. (incl.)	tit
1 sg.	yak ³	1pl. (excl.)	am
2sg.	au	2pl.	meu
3sg.	i	3pl.	si

Figure 3. Taba independent pronouns

A descriptive issue arises from the characterisation of the forms in (14) as composing a distinct class of demonstrative pronouns rather than as modified versions of the 3 sg. and 3pl. pronouns, to which demonstrative suffixes have been attached. This is especially so since we saw in (5) above that demonstratives may freely be used to

³In some dialects (Mailoa, Kayoa, Peleri) the 1sg. independent pronoun is *lak*.

modify independent pronouns in Taba. A number of arguments can be advanced for setting up a distinct synchronic class of demonstrative pronouns (although it is no doubt true that the diachronic origins of the complex forms are as combinations of the third person pronouns and the demonstrative roots).

Phonologically, it is clear that the demonstrative components of the complex forms are the roots rather than the putative pronominal parts. Stress in Taba is unaffected by affixation and the demonstrative components of the complex forms shown above attract stress while the prefixes do not: *iné, siné, idá, sidá, idía, sidía*. Although first and second person pronouns may be qualified by demonstrative roots, the pronouns and the demonstratives occur as separate phonological words, each attracting stress. A further example with the 1sg. pronoun qualified by the proximate demonstrative *ne*, where stress is marked by an acute accent is given in (15).⁴

- (15) *Yák né, pólo yák kaníg yákin wólat,*
 yak ne, polo yak k=hanig yakin wolat,
 1sg PROX if 1sg 1sg=own memory sea,

yán nón hía
 yan n=on hia
 fish 3sg=eat be.good

‘Me here, if I understand the sea, the fish will really go for this (i.e. eat this bait).’

The most important piece of evidence for seeing the demonstrative pronouns as a distinct word class though, is the fact that ordinary pronouns can only refer to animates, while the demonstrative pronouns can also have inanimate reference. This is illustrated in (16) where *ine* refers to some chairs and (17) where *idia* refers to a pile of luggage. (Note that in accordance with the Taba rules for marking number, only humans may be grammatically marked as plural.)

- (16) *Ine ma kyat Keten nak,*
 i-ne ma k=yat Keten nak
 3sg-PROX well 1sg=take Moti also
 ‘This stuff I took to Moti too’.

- (17) *Idia myat po loe?*
 i-dia m=yat po lo=e
 3sg-DIST 2sg=carry down where=FOC
 ‘Where are you taking that?’

When they are used to refer to inanimates, demonstrative pronouns have a similar function to that of the animate pronouns. They can also be used in most of the functional domains of ordinary nouns (i.e. they can constitute complete noun phrases). In (18), *idia* refers to the Makianese eruption which is said to have set off a tidal wave and occurs as a possessor in a possessive NP.

⁴ In this example, the pronoun *yak* and the demonstrative *ne* appear in the preclausal focus position. It is probably more common to encounter demonstrative qualified pronouns in this position but pronouns plus demonstratives do also occur in their normal clausal positions and pronouns are also found in the preclausal focus position without qualifying demonstratives. Although it appears that the notion of focus is connected with the use of demonstratives when they are used this way, it is not yet clear exactly how that relationship should be understood.

- (18) *Idia ni laylu nwom lawe*
 i-dia ni laylu n=wom la-we
 3sg-DIST 3sg.POSS wave 3sg=come sea-ESS
 'Its wave came up seawards.'

While demonstrative pronouns can be used, and are used to mark a distinction between spatial proximity vs. distance, they are much more commonly used anaphorically. The tendency observed earlier for *ne* to be used for something referred to in the previous intonation unit and for *dia* / *da* to be used for reference to things mentioned earlier than that applies equally to *ine* / *sine* and *ida* / *idia* / *sida* / *sidia*: thus, the distal demonstrative pronouns are encountered in texts far more often than their proximal counterparts.

4.3. Demonstrative locative nouns

These Taba forms correspond functionally to what are often called 'adverbs of place' like 'here' and 'there' in English. They are formally classified as nominal in Taba, however, since they occur in the same syntactic contexts as place names and other locative nouns. There are two forms: *ane* 'here' and *adia* 'there', both formed by prefixing *a-* to one of the 'core' demonstrative roots.

- (19) (a) *ane* (b) *adia*
 a-ne a-dia
 LOC-PROX LOC-DIST
 'here' 'there'

Ane 'here' is illustrated in (20).

- (20) *Yak e ktongo ane*
 yak e k=tongo a-ne
 1sg FOC 1sg=live LOC-PROX
 'Me, I live here'.

In my corpus, *adia* 'there' occurs less frequently than *ane* 'here'. This is probably because the deictic space signified by *adia* is often further subdivided many times and given more specific location by the directionals which will be introduced briefly later. *Adia* 'there' is shown in (21).

- (21) *Peda adia loka ni umpo lema*
 peda a-dia loka ni um-po le-ma
 machete LOC-DIST banana 3sg.POSS PART-down land-VEN
 'The machete is there, landwards from the bottom of the banana tree.'

4.4. Adverbs of manner:

The adverbs of manner were introduced in figure 2 and they are repeated in (22) for convenience.

- (22) **Speech level** **Proximal** **Distal**
- | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Biasa | 'normal' | <i>tane</i> | <i>tadia</i> |
| Alus | 'refined' | <i>tadine</i>
<i>hatadine</i> | <i>taddia</i>
<i>hatadia</i> |
| Kasar | 'coarse' | <i>dodine</i> | <i>dodia</i> |

These forms can be translated into English as ‘like this’ and ‘like that’, and mark similarity with something. They function much like forms such as *begini* and *begitu* found in Indonesian. There is a rather large set of these forms and they are distinguished by Taba speakers as being appropriate for different speech levels. It is possible that there may be some further refined or *alus* forms that I am unaware of since speech level differentiation is one of the aspects of Taba that is starting to disappear under the onslaught of Malay. Although Taba speakers were able to provide me with examples of the *alus* forms, their use appears to be most appropriate in formal oratory styles, and since formal speeches are rarely made in Taba any more, I have little evidence of how *alus* forms are used. The forms most often encountered are the *biasa* ‘normal’ forms although one will occasionally hear *kasar* ‘coarse’ forms uttered when an exasperated parent is chiding his or her errant child for example.

The adverbs of manner are often encountered as single word utterances and function as exclamatories or interjections in this role.⁵ Most often seen in this role are the distal forms. A knowledge of the preceding discourse or real world context is required to provide an appropriate English translation.

(23) *Tadia!*

ta-dia

SIM-DIST

‘It’s done like that!’, ‘I’ve done it!’, ‘Tadaa!’ [or in French, Voilà!], etc.

The forms may also be used adverbially following whatever verb they mark similarity to.

- (24) *Tit tpe tane*
 tit t-pe ta-ne
 1pl.incl 1pl.incl-do SIM-PROX
 ‘We do it like this.’

The adverbs of manner can be used to refer to events that are occurring in the real world as someone is speaking. The following example was recorded during a very heavy downpour of rain while the speaker was referring to what happens when it rains on the top of the volcano on Makian island.

- (25) Malai *polo ulan tane* *da. Yase buko kwat.*
 Malai polo ulan ta-ne da ya-se buko kwat
 So if rain SIM-PROX DIST up-ESS be.noise EMPH
 ‘So if the rain was like this, up on top (of the mountain) the noise would be huge.’

The proximate form may also be used cataphorically to introduce direct speech. (I have not recorded cataphoric use of any of the other core demonstrative forms.)

- (26) *Nalusa tane: ‘Acan ncitoi npuik’.*
 n=ha-lusa ta-ne acan n=sito-i n=puik
 3sg=ACT-say SIM-PROX Acan 3sg=fart-3sg 3sg=stink
 ‘He said this: “Acan farted and it stank”.’

⁵ Wilkins (1995) argues that all interjections should be properly seen as deictic.

5. Aspects of the wider deictic system

We have just seen some of the linguistic forms that fit into a morphological paradigm with the core demonstrative roots. In this section we widen our scope to look at another form derived from the directional set which also appears to fit into a syntactic paradigm with the core demonstrative roots. The form which does this is *ya*, which appears to be related to the directional root *ya* meaning ‘up’. The directionals as a class are discussed in §5.1. Consider the following examples:

- (27) *Kso pungan um li ne*
 k=so pungan um li ne
 1sg=climb tree house LOC PROX
 ‘I’m climbing this tree by the house.’
- (28) *Kso pungan um li dia*
 k=so pungan um li dia
 1sg=climb tree house LOC DIST
 ‘I’m climbing that tree by the house.’
- (29) *Kso pungan um li ya*
 k=so pungan um li ya
 1sg=climb tree house LOC ‘up’ / ‘remember’
 ‘I’m climbing the tree by the house (you should remember which one).’

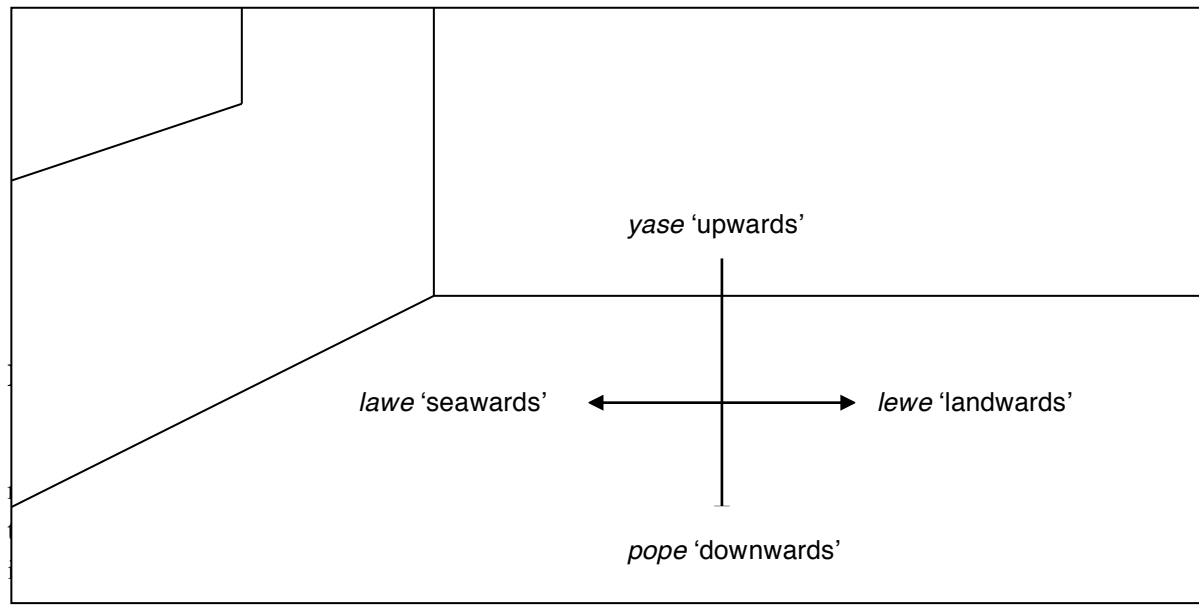
The particle *ya* in example (29), glossed ‘up’ / ‘remember’ occurs in the same position with respect to the rest of the clause as do the core demonstrative particles *ne* and *dia*. Furthermore, it also indexes the same element as the core demonstratives, in this case *pungan um li* ‘the tree by the house’. Its function here is to point to that noun phrase and suggest to an addressee that s/he is expected to know something about the particular tree being referred to. In other words, it encodes the speaker’s expectation that the addressee should be able to recognise what is being referred to because of some memory or knowledge that the speaker assumes the addressee to have.

The form *ya* is glossed as ‘up’ as well as ‘remember’. This is because it has the same form as the directional root *ya*, meaning roughly ‘up’ which enters into a morphological paradigm of its own along with four more directional roots. In the next section we provide a brief characterisation of these forms before turning back to demonstratives in subsequent sections of the paper.

5.1. An overview of Taba directionals

Taba, along with all the other languages in the North Maluku area, both Austronesian and non-Austronesian, has a set of directionals which are used to refer to location in space. These directionals are ubiquitous in Taba texts. Five basic semantic categories may be distinguished in the Taba directional system. They are listed here with their glosses: *ya* ‘up’, *po* ‘down’, *la* ‘sea’, *le* ‘land’, and *no* ‘there’. As mentioned in the introduction, Taba is traditionally spoken on Makian island which is basically a volcanic cone just over ten kilometres in diameter. Houses are chiefly located on one or other side of the pathway that leads right around the island in such a way that their ‘fronts’ face either towards the sea or the mountain and their ‘backs’ face in the opposite direction. Figure 4 represents the inside of a house with a window facing towards the sea. Within visible space, *lawe* ‘seawards’ is in the direction of the sea from some presumed deictic centre. *Lewe* ‘landwards’ is in the direction of the top of the volcano at the centre of the island. *Yase* ‘upwards’ is the direction above the presumed deictic centre and *pope* ‘downwards’ is the direction below. *Noge* ‘there’ is literally in

any direction away from the presumed deictic but in table top space such as that illustrated in figure 4 *noge* is generally interpreted pragmatically to mean in either direction parallel to the coastline, i.e neither on the seawards / landwards axis nor on the upwards / downwards axis. The meanings of these directionals in scales larger than table-top space is a much more complicated story since the potential reference of the terms has been conventionalised in various ways at different scalar levels. These extended meanings are discussed in detail in Bowden (1997).



root	ya (up)	po (down)	la (sea)	le (land)	no (there)
ESSive	yase	pope	lawe	lewe	noge
ALLative	attia	appo	akla	akle	akno
VENitive	yama	poma	lama	lema	noma
PARTitive	tattubo ⁶	umpo	kla	kle	kno

Figure 5. Taba directional paradigm

Some illustrative examples showing how each of the derived directional types can be used are given in (30) to (33).

(30) ESSIVE: refers to static location in some direction

I ntongo yase um li
i n=tongo ya-se um li
 3sg 3sg=stay up-ESS house LOC
 'He's staying upwards in the house.'

⁶This is a suppletive form, based on the root *tub* 'to grow'. The form is derived through instrumental reduplication of the applied locative form of *tub*, and literally means 'the thing with which (something) grows towards some location'.

tat-tub-o
 INST.RED-grow-LOC
 PART:up ['top' / 'the thing with which something grows towards something']

(31) **ALLATIVE: refers to movement towards a particular direction**

I nhan appo Tarnate
i n=han ap-po Tarnate
 3sg 3sg=go ALL-down Ternate
 ‘She’s going downwards to Ternate.’

(32) **VENITIVE: refers to movement away from a particular direction**

I ncobal Keten lama
i n=sobal Keten la-ma
 3sg 3sg=sail Moti sea-VEN
 ‘He’s sailing from seawards on Moti.’

(33) **PARTITIVE: refers to parts of things oriented in a particular direction**

Senter adia meja ni umpo
senter a-dia meja ni um-po
 torch LOC-DIST table POSS PART-down
 ‘The torch is there under the table.’

The first three types of derived forms (essive, allative and venitive) may occur either with or without locative complements. (The locative complements *um li* ‘in the house’, *Tarnate* ‘Ternate’ and *Keten* ‘Moti’ could all have been omitted from the examples in (30) to (32) without affecting their grammaticality.) When these directionals co-occur with locative complements, the essive and allative directionals always precede their complements while venitive directionals always follow their complements. The exceptional behavior of the venitive forms is probably a result of the fact that the suffix *-ma* is derived historically from the protoform **mai* ‘come’.

5.2. Epistemic / temporal extensions of meanings with *ya*, *po*, *no*

Although I will not discuss extended spatial meanings of directionals in detail, some discussion of temporal and epistemic extensions to the meanings of directionals are in order to support the contention that demonstrative *ya* shown in (29) above is indeed the same form as directional *ya*.

Ya ‘up’ and *po* ‘down’ are the only roots from the directional set which can occur alone without having undergone derivation and forming one of the derived directionals listed in figure 5.

Po ‘down’ occurs when referring to unknown locations, away from both speaker and hearer as in the common Taba greeting illustrated in (34).

(34) *Hhan po loe?*
h=han po loe
 2pl=go down where FOC
 ‘Where are you going?’

This greeting is used no matter what direction the addressee is moving in, even if it is clear they are moving in, say, an ‘upwards’ or ‘seawards’ direction. The purely directional sense of ‘down’ is clearly not intended, although this usage of *po* no doubt has some of the connotations of politeness associated with its meaning of being ‘at the centre’ or ‘in a hallowed place’, an extended meaning of *po* ‘down’ discussed in detail in Bowden (1997).

Po also occurs in a number of compounds where a related sense of futurity or ‘unknownness’ is readily apparent.

- (35) *motopo*
 moto-ap-po
 a little-ALL-down
 ‘In a short while / a short time later’

- (36) *mawoappo*
 mawowo-ap-po
 light-ALL-down
 ‘the next day’

Note that in (36) above the spatial meaning of *po* is clearly not intended. The light referred to is that which arrives at sunrise when the sun comes up and not down.

Ya ‘up’, when used in its unaffixed form is very strongly deictic, being used to index expressions, the referents of which are known to both speaker and hearer. It can be used to index both noun phrases and adpositional phrases. In many instances of its use, it could perhaps be glossed with the colloquial English expression ‘you know’. In the terminology used by Himmelmann (1996) it is a ‘recognitional’, similar in function to deictic forms found in many Australian languages. Another illustration, where *ya* indexes a postpositional locative phrase is given in (37).

- (37) *Yak ksagal akno UnHair li ya.*
 yak k=sagal ak-no UnHair li ya
 1sg 1sg=step ALL-there Universitas Khairun LOC up
 ‘I walked to UnHair (a place we both know about).’

In (38), further recognitional use of *ya* can be seen.

- (38) *Malai yapyap um ni llo ya, mlongan tane.*
 Malai yapyap um ni llo ya mlongan ta-ne
 so ash house 3sg.POSS inside up deep SIM-PROX
 ‘So, the ash inside the houses (you know) was as deep as this’.

Although *ya* and *po* are the only directional roots which ever occur on their own, the directional *no* also occurs in a few constructions which suggest that it too has developed some temporal meanings that may have some connection with the temporal uses of *ya* and *po* just discussed. Just as spatial *no* has no strictly entailed directional reference, temporal *no* refers to a time which must be inferred from an addressee’s knowledge of the general situation or what has preceded in a text. The following example occurs half way through a text discussing one person’s experience of the 1988 Makianese eruption, the most recent in a long series of eruptions on the island. In this example *no* refers to the time of the last Makianese eruption which the narrative had been about up until that time.

- (39) *Bobokno... dukon Taba... hawal... hayohaso do*
 bo-bo-ak-no dukon Taba ha=wal ha=yohaso do
 formerly-formerly-ALL-there eruption Makian CLASS=eight CLASS=ten REAL
 From way back in the past up to there (i.e. the time just talked about)... Makianese eruptions... eight times... ten times already.

Although we cannot be certain whether or not deictic *ya* is the same form as directional *ya*, there is reasonable evidence to suspect that it might be. In the next section we examine the role of the core demonstratives and *ya* in discourse.

6. Deictic particles in discourse

In order to better illustrate the functions of the deictic particles, we will examine the occurrences of each type of deictic particle found in one procedural text. The text begins with a description of how a garden house or *sedi* was built, and what the names of its parts are. After discussion of the roof thatching, which was made from sago leaves, the text turns into a discussion of all the things that sago is used for and a set of instructions for processing sago as food is given. This text was selected for the count, because deictic reference was made to a number of objects that were actually visible at the time the text was recorded as well as to things that were not visible, but known by various participants.⁷ Figure 6 provides a summary of the counts made of each of the deictic particles. Along with the core demonstrative roots and the deictic particle *ya* have also been included a count of some derived demonstrative forms. The form *ne* ‘PROX’ was not counted in a few instances where it occurs as part of the lexicalised compound *lai mo ne* ‘recently’ (lit. ‘just come this’). Derived similitive forms were not included in the count either because they cannot always be linked with any particular referent.

	PROX			DIST			‘up’	Total
	<i>ne</i>	<i>ane</i>	<i>ine</i>	<i>da/</i> <i>dia</i>	<i>adi</i> <i>a</i>	<i>idia</i>	<i>ya</i>	
visible	6	2	28	2		4		42
reference established previous IU				2	2	3		7
reference established 2-10 IUs earlier				1				1
reference established more than 10 IUs earlier							1	1
generic referent	1		1	1				3
referent neither visible nor established in preceding discourse	1						7	8
other							1	1

Figure 6. Summary of deictic use in Sedi ada baku ‘Garden houses and sago’ text [IU = Intonation Unit]

A number of things stand out rather clearly from figure 6. The first is a very strong preference for the proximal derived forms to be used to refer to things that are visible. Out of a total of 42 visible referents marked deictically, 36 of them were indexed by *ne* ‘PROX’ or something derived from it while only 6 are marked with a distal form. No visible referents are indexed with *ya* ‘up’.

Another strong preference is for referents already established within the text to be marked by one of the derived distal forms. Out of nine deictic uses which pointed to referents established within the preceding discourse, eight were indexed with one of the distal derived forms. Only one instance of possibly anaphoric *ya* was found. It is clearly

⁷ The complete *Sedi ada baku* text is included as an appendix to Bowden (2001).

noteworthy that the only instance of *ya* being thus used was when reference had been established fully 20 intonation units earlier. It is highly probable in such circumstances that the referent concerned could no longer be thought of as given information, even though it once had been.

Ya is overwhelmingly used (7 times out of 9) in order to establish initial reference to something that is known to both speaker and hearer, but which has not yet been introduced into the immediate linguistic context. An interesting feature of *ya* use is that following the mention of a referent indexed by *ya* there is almost invariably a pause; the pause presumably occurring because the speaker waits to check that the addressee has determined for themselves the intended referent. The only other instance where a demonstrative was used to index a referent that had not yet been introduced into the discourse occurred when the proximate root *ne* ‘this’ was used to refer to the speaker’s canoe to which the large tubes used to process sago were being compared. The canoe could be seen as much more obviously part of any immediate context involving the person who was speaking here: he is well known as an obsessive fisherman with an out of the ordinary interest in maintaining and using his canoe. The canoe could thus be expected to be much more readily retrievable than most potential referents that had not yet been introduced into the discourse.

(40) *Odo lai mo ne noge loka li ya...*

Odo lai mo ne no-ge loka li ya
on the other hand just before PROX there-ESS banana LOC up

duga palo ya?.. Idia tenti.. Tenti loka ni llo... Polo
duga palo ya i-dia tenti tenti loka ni llo polo
only half up DEM-DIST tenti tenti banana 3sg.POSS inside if

tane sedi... Ada ni pungan.. Idia ni
ta-ne sedi ada ni pungan i-dia ni
SIM-PROX sedi with 3sg.POSS ridge-pole DEM-DIST 3sg.POSS

sso sedi.. Tapi duga polo duga palo le... tenti.. Tadia.
sso sedi tapi duga polo duga palo le tenti ta-dia
name sedi but only if only side only tenti SIM-DIST

‘On the other hand, just before, over there in the bananas... that only half one, you remember? That’s a ‘tenti’. A ‘tenti’ in the bananas. If it’s like this it’s a *sedi*. With a ridge-pole. That’s called a ‘sedi’.. But if it’s only half a structure... it’s a ‘tenti’.. like that.’

The first instance of *ne* ‘PROX’ occurs within the lexicalised compound *lai mo ne* ‘recently / just before’ and was not counted since it cannot be tied to a particular referent. The next deictic particle used is *ya* ‘up’, first in *loka li ya* ‘at the bananas’, and then in *duga palo ya* ‘just a half’. Here, the speaker is referring to a place that all of the participants in the conversation had been to not long before the text was recorded. On the way to the gardens we had stopped at a small bunch of banana trees where a half-sized garden shelter or *tenti* had been built. After each use of *ya* here, the speaker paused and waited for a gesture affirming that the addressee did indeed remember what he was talking about. The speaker’s purpose in this segment of text is to contrast the full-sized *sedi* which we were standing next to with the half-sized *tenti* we had seen earlier. The *tenti* had not been discussed before within this text, nor was it visible from where the text was recorded, but the speaker presumed that its existence, and that of the bunch of banana trees where it was located, would be remembered by those being

addressed. Once the *tenti* structure had been established as a referent within the text, the speaker next used the derived distal form *idia* ‘that’ to refer to the *tenti*: *idia tenti* ‘that is a tenti’.

The next demonstrative used is in the similitive form *tane* ‘like this’. While the similitive forms were not included in the count given in figure 6, the use of the proximal similitive *tane* here is consistent with the functions for each of the particles so far outlined. Here, the speaker is referring to the visible full-sized *sedi* structure which is the main topic of the narrative *polo tane, sedi* ‘if it’s like this it’s a *sedi*.’

The next demonstrative *idia* is used not to refer to the particular *sedi* which was visible at the time of utterance, but to the *sedi* as a generic type of structure: *idia ni sso sedi* ‘that is called a *sedi*’. By this stage of the narrative, the *sedi* is well established as a structure type so it is appropriate in naming it to use the distal demonstrative form.

The final use of a derived demonstrative in this text shows a very common use of the distal similitive *tadia*. Here *tadia* is used to close this sequence of text and offer a summary of what has just been said, *tadia* ‘it’s like that.’

7. Conclusions

A number of reasons for treating *ya* as a real demonstrative can be advanced. First, if we go back to Himmelmann’s definition of demonstratives given at the beginning of this paper we observe that *ya* certainly is ‘in a paradigmatic relation to elements which ... locate the entity referred to on a distance scale as proximal, distal, etc.’, as was illustrated in examples (27) to (29). It is true that *ya* is not a part of the morphological paradigm which the other demonstratives enter into, but it is certainly part of another *syntactic* paradigm in which the other demonstrative roots also participate.

If demonstratives are really indexicals in the Peircean sense as they have been claimed to be, and if their function is to demonstrate or point to a particular instance of a referent from among a set of potential referents then Taba *ya* clearly has that function. It is clearly deictic as all demonstratives are but it differs from other better known demonstrative types because it points to a different kind of space than do most demonstratives. While deixis of place, time, person and more recently discourse deixis and social deixis have been widely discussed in the literature, what we might think of as mental deixis has not been so widely discussed. The function of *ya* is to point to a presumed space in the mind of the addressee rather than some location in physical space or to some previously mentioned participant in an unfolding text.

We may conclude that *ya* really is a demonstrative, but perhaps a partially defective one since it cannot enter into the morphological paradigm which the other demonstratives enter. However, given the recognitional function of *ya* which has been discussed in the previous section, it is not at all surprising that *ya* has no derived demonstrative counterparts: the recognitional meaning of *ya* is incompatible with the kinds of functions performed by any of the derived forms based on the other demonstrative roots.

Whenever *ya* is used to index a referent it is used to help establish a non-topical referent as topical. It is generally used only once with respect to any particular referent, and then usually only on the first occasion that the referent is mentioned. After a first mention with *ya*, and once it is clear to the speaker that the addressee has identified the particular referent s/he had in mind, then one of the other demonstratives now becomes appropriate for pointing to it. Such newly introduced referents are now established as

topical, and one of the demonstratives which have an anaphoric function will now be used to index such referents.

If a speaker wishes to refer to a location that s/he believes the addressee knows about, but which is not immediately relevant to the situation of discourse, then a complete locative phrase with *ya* may be appropriate for referring to it. An example of this occurred with the phrase *noge loka li ya* 'there in those bananas' in the *Sedi ada baku* text. Although this location was not subsequently referred to in the text, if it had been, reference to it would have already been established, and the distal / anaphoric locative demonstrative *adia* 'there' would have been the appropriate demonstrative to use when referring to it. A derived form based on *ya* would be infelicitous for any referent which had already been activated as given information, just as it would be infelicitous for any referent which could not be activated as part of the immediate context of the utterance.

In much the same way, the manner adverbs are used to demonstrate similarity with something that is connected closely to the discourse: either something which existed or was taking place in the vicinity of the discourse location, or something which had already been discussed as part of the discourse. In either case, whatever was being referred to would be given information, and a form based on *ya* would thus be inappropriate. If a speaker wishes to demonstrate similarity with something not already part of the discourse context then a variety of linguistic means are available to achieve this end. However, any of these potential strategies must by necessity involve specifying the nature of what something is similar to in much more detail than would be possible with a derived manner adverb based on *ya*.

A demonstrative pronoun based on *ya* would have no potential for use either, for the same sorts of reasons as advanced in the previous two paragraphs. Demonstrative pronouns can only ever be used to refer to entities that are given, either because they occur in the immediate physical environment where the discourse is taking place (spatial deixis) or because they have become established as given during the course of the discourse. A pronominal form based *ya*, which is designed to point to remembered entities which are not given would again have no reason to be used. The basic functions of pronouns and the basic functions of the recognitional are in complementary distribution.

Although demonstratives which point to mental spaces have not been widely discussed in the literature, there do appear to be quite a lot of them in languages from around the world. A number of Australian languages have specific demonstrative forms which are reserved for recognitional use, e.g. Mparntwe Arrernte (Wilkins 1989) and Yangkuntjatjara (Goddard 1983). Even the English form 'that' can be used recognitionally in sentences such as 'I was thinking about that guy we saw yesterday'.

I suspect that other demonstratives, the meanings of which have been controversial, may also turn out to be pointing to mental spaces rather than physical ones or textual ones. These mental spaces may not always be of the same type as those to which 'recognitionals' point, however.

Turkish, for example, has a three term demonstrative system: *bu* roughly 'proximal', *o* roughly 'distal' and *su* the exact meaning of which has been disputed by different authors. Lyons (1977) asserts that Turkish has a three way person oriented system whereby *bu* refers to things close to the speaker, *su* refers to things close to the addressee and *o* refers to things away from both. Gadžieva and Serebrennikov (1977) claim there is a three way distance based system where *bu* signals immediate proximity to the speaker, *su* points to things somewhat removed from the speaker and *o* to things

more distal still. Bastuji (1976) argued for a two way distance based system with *bu* referring to things close to the speaker, *o* things far from the speaker and with *su* as an emphatic variant of *o*. Underhill (1976) accepted that the meaning of *su* was not well understood, but claimed that *su* differed from the other demonstratives in that it is obligatorily accompanied by a gesture. It is perhaps not surprising that if demonstratives pointing to various kinds of mental spaces have not often been recognised until recently, that the forms which do have this kind of function have often been labelled as ‘addressee based’ terms. In pointing to a mental space, a speaker points to a space in the mind of an addressee, and it is not surprising that such a location in the mind of an addressee might be confused with physical spaces close to such an addressee.

Özyürek (1998), in a careful study involving the examination of video-taped conversation found *su* does in fact have functions that can be viewed in terms of mental deixis. She found that *su* was used to demonstrate things both close to and distant from the speaker and that while its use was often accompanied by a gesture, that this was not always the case. In fact, *su* appeared to be used when a speaker wished to shift an addressee’s attention to something other than what the addressee was presumed to be paying attention to. This occurred regardless of whether the intended referent was in the domain of the speaker or in the domain of the addressee. Özyürek concluded that “the distinction created by *su* in opposition to *bu* or *o* can be captured by the pragmatic oppositions that speakers might want to create in the context off the utterance”.

A similar function to Turkish *su* has been found by Kita for Japanese *sore*: see Kita and Walsh Dickey, eds. 1998: 66 for discussion. *Sore*, like Turkish *su*, is also traditionally seen as an ‘addressee based’ demonstrative. The difference between *sore* and Turkish *su*, according to Kita, is that “the use of *sore* is blocked by distance based conditions... *sore* cannot draw the addressee’s attention when the referent is very close to the speaker (e.g. the speaker’s clothing) or very far from the speech event (e.g. a star in the sky)”.

In both the Japanese and the Turkish case, as is the case with recognitionals, what seems to be the determining factor involved in whether the use of a demonstrative form is appropriate or not is how the speaker perceives an intended referent to be remembered, understood, or potentially activated in the mind of an addressee. Recognitionals probably constitute one of the most common types of demonstratives which mark mental deixis, but they are not the only kind, as the Turkish and Japanese examples show.

Demonstrative use is often classified as being either exophoric or endophoric: pointing to a referent outside of a text in the real world, or pointing to a referent that has already been mentioned or is about to be mentioned in a text. Endophoric demonstration is often subdivided into anaphoric and cataphoric categories: pointing backwards and forwards in a text respectively. The way *ya* is used in Taba, and the way that other forms used for mental deixis are used, fit neither the exophoric nor the endophoric category well. Taba *ya* does not point to a physical referent connected with the situation of an utterance in the real world so it does not qualify in the normal way as exophoric. However, *ya* does point outside the text, but to a mental space rather than a physical one. Since it doesn’t point within a text, its use cannot truly be endophoric either. It appears to me that *ya* is used for a different kind of demonstration altogether, where what is relevant is not so much whether the demonstrative points within the text or to the outside world, but that it points to somewhere in the mind of the addressee. To coin a new term analogous to exophoric and endophoric, we might label this kind of demonstrative use as ‘nousophoric’.

In this paper, I hope to have shown that nousophor, or mental deixis is an important feature of the Taba demonstrative system, and that it appears to play an important role in other languages too. It is to be hoped that more attention is paid to the ways in which mental deixis is encoded in other languages, and to what extent other kinds of mental deixis might really exist in different languages.

Abbreviations

1	first person	2	second person
3	third person	ALL	allative
APPL	applicative	ART	article
ACT	active	CLASS	classifier
DIST	distal	EMPH	emphasis
ESS	essive	FOC	focus marker
INST.RED	instrumental reduplication	LOC	locative
NEG	negative	PART	part
PASS	passive	pl	plural
POSS	possessive	PROX	proximal
REAL	realis	sg	singular
SIM	similative	VEN	venitive

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